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博 士 学 位 论 文

两岸人员交流管理路径研究

——以风险管理理论为视角

A Study on Management Path of Cross-Strait Personnel Exchanges

—From the Perspective of Risk Management Theory

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摘 要

自 2008 年 5 月以来，两岸人员交流的规模与数量呈现出成倍增长的趋势。本文认为两岸人员交流是一个由公权力部门政策主导，人民积极参与所构成的“公”“私”合力的产物。两岸公权力部门对人员交流负有不可推卸的管理责任。但两岸各自分属不同的行政体系，且双方在政策目标、基本定位以及具体策略都有明显差异，难以完全覆盖两岸人员交流的方方面面，因而滋生出各种不确定性。面对着两岸人员交流的全新发展态势，探讨人员交流有序管理的目的在于保持两岸民间交流的畅通，保障两岸民众的实际权益，维护两岸关系和平发展的良好局面。

站在政治学理论的角度，唯有从“政治难题”入手才能最终实现两岸对人员交流的全面管理。但这种由上至下的垂直思维却止步于两岸政治困境。风险管理理论以对人员交流管理划下底线的方式，着眼于优先解决管理层面的“短板”，由低到高循序渐进地构建两岸人员交流的管理机制。或许能给两岸双方提供一个新的路径选择。

通过对两岸差异化的人员交流政策进行风险识别，梳理出追求“双赢”的共同诉求以及“建立互信”与“正视现实”的目标错位，“同属一中”与“一国两区”的定位差异以及“政经相辅”与“政经分离”的策略分歧。将现已产生的摩擦案例与政策分歧点相互检视，得出以维持两岸有序、正常交往，且不影响与破坏两岸民众对两岸关系和平发展的信心为内容的人员交流管理底线。

借助 SWOT 分析工具完成对两岸人员交流政策的风险评估。“优势”是两岸追求“双赢”的共同诉求；“劣势”是人员交流政策的目标错位；“机会”是两岸务实协商达成了新的默契，即两岸“两会”互设办事机构；“威胁”则是在政治定位差异下所导致的人民“差别对待”问题。将两组因素进行现状与走向评估，得出呈现共同上升的趋势，既说明管理的必要性，也给管理路径的探讨留下空间。

通过 SWOT 风险管理策略组合的相互配对，实现分别为“优势——机会”、“优势——威胁”、“劣势——机会”以及“劣势——威胁”四组的策略配对。从风险隐患被完全消除，风险被技术性避免，风险偶发不影响大局以及风险频发而酿成危机四种可能性的策略探讨，得出符合两岸现状的策略区间应介于“优势——威胁”与“劣势——机会”之间。

在 SWOT 风险管理策略组合的基础上，探讨两岸建立人员交流的管理路径应优先解决管理“短板”对两岸民众权益的损害，对政治议题采取“搁置争议”与行政事务的“求同存异”。同时，还需要分别在政策沟通、制度设计与认知调适三个方面更新既有的互动模式，实现管理机制的由低到高的推进。

通过研究，本文认为两岸关系的和平发展给两岸人员交流带来了前所未有的发展机遇。两岸人员交流管理是两岸关系和平发展的必然要求。将风险管理理论置于两岸人员交流管理路径研究中，其价值在于采取逆向思维，以人民感受与利益为依归，优先排除人为的制度障碍，降低因制度干扰而转嫁至民众身上的交流成本。由“短板”入手，防范与避免不必要的摩擦对人员交流长远发展的损害性。从减少损失转向增量合作，累积善意，追求实现两岸人员交流事务的全面合作管理，为两岸关系的和平发展保驾护航。

关键词：两岸人员交流；管理；风险管理；人员交流政策；

Abstract

Since May 2008, the scale and the number of Cross-Strait personnel exchange has grown at an exponential rate. This dissertation argues that the cross-strait personnel exchange is an area that is not only led by the public power sector, but also formed by the active participation of the people. Although public power sector cannot shirk its management responsibilities for personnel exchange across the Taiwan Strait, the two sides have significant differences in the policy objectives, basic political status and specific strategies since each side belongs to different administrative system. It is difficult to completely cover all aspects of cross-strait personnel exchange, and thus breeding a variety of uncertainties. Faced with the new trend of development of cross-strait personnel exchange, the purpose of this dissertation which explores the management path of personnel exchange is to ensure the smooth civilian flow of exchanges across the Taiwan Strait, to protect the rights and interests of the people on both sides, and to maintain the good situation of peaceful development of cross-strait relations.

Standing on the point of view of political theory, the only way to ultimately achieve the overall management of the cross-strait personnel exchange is by solving “political problem”. But this kind of top-down vertical thinking is hampered by political dilemma of cross-strait relations. By drawing the bottom line on the exchange of personnel management, the theory of risk management gives priority to solving the “short slab” of the management level, and aims at the gradual construction of management mechanism for personnel exchange from low-level to high-level. It provides an alternative path for both sides across the Taiwan Strait to choose.

Through risk identification of differentiated personnel exchange policies on both sides, this dissertation argues that there is a common demand of the pursuit of a “win-win” objective, yet at the same time there are differences in the objectives that one’s objective is to “build mutual confidence” and the other one’s objective is to “face reality”. There are differences in the political status that one side holds that

“both sides belong to one China”, yet the other side holds that “one country two legal territories”. There are also differences in specific strategies that one side adheres to the principle that “political and economical affairs are complementary”, yet the other side adheres to the principle that “political and economical affairs should be handled separately”. By reviewing the cases which has produced frictions and the policy differences, this dissertation draws the conclusion that the bottom line of personnel exchange management is to maintain an orderly, normal exchanges across the Taiwan Strait, at the same time not influence and undermine public confidence in the peaceful development of cross-strait relations across the Taiwan Strait.

With the tool of SWOT analysis, this dissertation completes the risk assessment of cross-strait personnel exchanges policies. “Strength” is the common aspirations of the two sides to pursue “win-win”; “weakness” is the difference in policy objectives of personnel exchange; “opportunity” is that cross-strait negotiations has reached a new consensus which is the “two sessions” will establish offices mutually; “threat” is the “discriminatory treatment” of the people caused by the differences in political status. To assess the situation and trend of two sets of factors, both show a common upward trend. This illustrates not only the necessity of management, but also the discussion of management path.

Through SWOT risk management strategies pairing with each other, we can get four groups of pairing, which are “strength-opportunity”, “strength-threat”, “weakness- opportunity”, and “weakness-threat”. There are four kinds of possibility, that is being completely eliminated from the potential risk; technically avoid the risk; risk happens incidentally which does not affect the overall situation; and risk happens frequently which rise to crisis. This dissertation argues that the boundary line conforming to the status quo across the Taiwan Strait is from “strength-threat” to “weakness- opportunity”.

Basing on SWOT portfolio of risk management strategies, this dissertation argues that to establish management path of the cross-strait personnel exchanges should give priority to the management of “short slab” which causing damage to the interests of people on both sides; deal with political affairs according to the principle

of “shelving disputes”; deal with administrative affairs according to the principle of “seeking common ground while reserving differences”. It is also necessary to update existing patterns of interaction from three aspects: policy communication, system design and cognitive adaptation, so as to promote the management mechanism from low-level to high-level.

Through research, this dissertation argues that the peaceful development of cross-strait relations has brought unprecedented opportunities for development of the personnel exchanges. Management of cross-strait personnel exchanges is an inevitable requirement for the peaceful development of cross-strait relations. The value to employ the theory of risk management in the research of management path of cross-strait personnel exchanges is to think reversely, to act in the interests of the people, to give priority to remove artificial institutional barriers, and to reduce the costs which are passed on to people through system interference. Start from “short slab”, we should prevent and avoid the damage to the long-term development which is caused by unnecessary friction.

Shifting from reducing loss to accumulating cooperation, we should accumulate goodwill in the pursuit of comprehensive cooperation in the management of cross-strait personnel exchanges affairs, so as to escort the peaceful development of cross-strait relations.

Keywords: cross-strait personnel exchanges; management; risk management; the policy of personnel exchanges management

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